

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

----- 055089

R 212030Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 681

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

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USNMR SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9651

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING PM, NOVEMBER 20

1. SUMMARY: AFTER DISPOSING OF A NUMBER OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS, AD HOC GROUP AT ITS MEETING ON NOVEMBER 20 HEARD REPORTS ON BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH WP REPS. CONTINUED PRESS LEAKAGE BY THE SOVIETS RAISED A QUESTION REGARDING SURFACING OF THE ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL, BUT IT WAS AGREED TO POSTPONE A DECISION AND TO EXAMINE THIS MATTER AGAIN AFTER THE WESTERN DRAFT WAS TABLED. NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES STRESSED THAT SOVIET TACTICS SHOWED THE PRIORITY THEY ATTACHED TO ESTABLISHING CONTROLS OVER FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF AN EC DEFENSE ORGANIZATION THROUGH REDUCTION CEILINGS ON INDIVIDUAL EUROPEAN
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FORCES. THE AHG ANALYZED THE EAST GERMAN STATEMENT AND THE UN-SCHEDULED SOVIET INTERVENTION MADE AT THE MBFR PLENARY EARLIER IN THE DAY. THE FRG REPS OFFER TO DRAFT BRIEF, MATTER OF FACT REBUTTAL TO BOTH WAS ACCEPTED. THE GROUP

TENTATIVELY DISCUSSED THE CONFERENCE PROGRAM FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE YEAR, AND EXCHANGED PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON LONGER RANGE TACTICS. DISCUSSION ENSUED ON THE REASONS FOR SOVIET HASTE, OR APPEARANCE OF HASTE, IN CONDUCT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. NEXT AHG MEETING WILL MEET PM NOVEMBER 21. END SUMMARY.

2. MEETING UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES), THE AHG FIRST CONSIDERED A NUMBER OF ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS. THE WEEKLY REPORT BY THE AHG CHAIRMAN (ITALIAN REP) TO NATO (TEXT SEPTEL) COVERING THE PERIOD NOV 12-18 WAS APPROVED. THE CHAIRMAN WELCOMED AN OFFER BY THE US TO PROVIDE COURIER SERVICE BETWEEN NATO AND VIENNA, WHICH HE REPORTED WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOUR TIMES PER WEEK. HE NOTED THAT DELIVERY TIME AVERAGED FIVE DAYS, BUT THAT IN URGENT CASES A SPECIAL NATO COURIER COULD BE EMPLOYED. GROUP ALSO AGREED TO APPROACH THE EASTERN SIDE TO ARRANGE THAT, WHEN MORE THAN ONE DELEGATION ASKED FOR THE FLOOR AT THE PLENARY MEETINGS, THEY SHOULD SPEAK IN ENGLISH ALPHABETICAL ORDER. THE CHAIRMAN ANNOUNCED THAT HUNGARY WOULD MAKE A STATEMENT IN THE NOV 22 PLENARY.

3. THE MILITARY COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVE IN THE AHG THEN READ THE MILITARY COMMITTEE ANALYSIS OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL AS EARLIER PRESENTED TO NAC (NOTE: WE ASSUME THIS WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ADDRESSEES BY USNATO). COPIES WERE DISTRIBUTED TO AHG.

4. THE US DEL CIRCULATED REPORT OF THE US DEP REP CONVERSATION WITH SOVIET DEL MEMBER KVITSINKIY (VIENNA 9564), AND THE TEXT OF UPI INTERVIEW WITH SOVIET REP KHLESTOV (SEPTEL). US DEP REP SAID THAT KVITSINSKIY HAD DENIED THE PRESS LEAKS BY TASS, AND THAT IF THE LEAK HAD BEEN DELIBERATE, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN DONE BETTER "AND BY DIFFERENT PERSONNEL." IT WAS CLEAR FROM CONVERSATION THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION WAS SENSITIVE ABOUT BEING FIRST TO BREACH AGREEMENT ON CONFIDENTIALITY OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS AND KHLESTOV HAD GONE OUT OF HIS WAY IN UPI INTERVIEW TO CLAIM THAT CONFIDENTIALITY SHOULD BE MAINTAINED. CHAIRMAN (QUARLES) SAID IT MAY BECOME NECESSARY TO LEAK OUR OWN FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL ONCE IT HAD BEEN TABLED IN ORDER TO COUNTER OBVIOUS SOVIET EFFORTS TO PUBLICIZE CONFIDENTIAL

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CIZE ITS INITIATIVE. HOWEVER, US REP RECOMMENDED CAUTION IN THIS REGARD, POINTING OUT THAT PRESERVATION OF CONFIDENTIALITY OPERATED TO THE ALLIES BENEFIT. IT WAS AHG CONSENSUS THAT THE MATTER OF PUBLICIZING THE ALLIED OUTLINE PROPOSAL SHOULD AWAIT ITS PRESENTATION, AFTER WHICH FURTHER THOUGHT COULD BE GIVEN TO SURFACING IT. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) SAID THAT HIS FOREIGN MINISTER MIGHT TAKE UP QUESTION OF CONFIDENTIALITY DURING HIS TRIP TO MOSCOW.

5. US DEP REP REPORTED THAT KVITSINSKIY HAD ALSO BROACHED SUBJECT OF CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE FOR US UNILATERAL TROOP WITHDRAWAL. US DEP REP ADVISED HIM TO EXAMINE THE RECORD CAREFULLY. THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION HAD NOT REMOVED ANY US

TROOPS DURING ITS TENURE AND DID NOT INTEND TO. FINAL OUTCOME OF CONGRESSIONAL VOTES ON THE ISSUE HAD SUPPORTED THE ADMINISTRATION AND CHANGE WAS NOT LIKELY. US DEP REP URGED AHG MEMBERS TO TAKE A FIRM CONFIDENT LINE ON THIS TOPIC IF QUESTIONED BY EAST. US REP ADDED FOR INFORMATION OF AHG THAT JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT HAD BEEN ENACTED, BUT THAT IT PROVIDED A TWO YEAR PERIOD FOR ALLIES TO SATISFY THE BOP REQUIREMENT. THE ADMINISTRATION WAS NOW IN POSITION TO SAY THAT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WERE ACTUALLY UNDERWAY, RATHER THAN IN PROSPECT AS HAD FORMERLY BEEN THE CASE, AND IT SEEMED UNLIKELY CONGRESS WOULD PULL THE RUG OUT FROM UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION.

6. QUARLES SAID THAT FROM WP STATEMENTS AND CONVERSATIONS TO DATE, IT WAS EVIDENT THAT THE USSR FEARS POSSIBLE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF A DEFENSE COMMUNITY OF THE NINE, AND WERE GIVING PRIORITY TO HINDERING IT. THIS ACCOUNTED FOR THEIR EFFORTS TO PLACE INDIVIDUAL CEILINGS ON NATO NATIONAL FORCES. EVEN A SYMBOLIC CUT, AMOUNTING TO AS LITTLE AS ONE PERCENT REDUCTION, WOULD, HE WARNED, GIVE SOVIETS A CONTRACTUAL HOLD OVER ON FUTURE WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS.

7. AHG THEN TURNED TO A DISCUSSION OF NOV 20 MBFR PLENARY MEETING (REPORTED SEPTEL). FRG REP (BEHREND) TOLD OF HIS SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH THE SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE IN WHICH HE ASKED HOW KHESTOV SQUARED HIS INVEIGHING AGAINST POLEMICS WITH EAST GERMAN ACCUSATIONS OF "DANGEROUS MILITARY ADVENTURES" BY NATO. SOVIET REP DID NOT TRY TO DEFEND THE EAST GERMAN STATEMENT. BEHREND OFFERED TO PROVIDE A DRAFT REPLY TO THE UNSCHEDULED CONFIDENTIAL

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SOVIET INTERVENTION IN WHICH THE ALLIES WOULD REEMPHASIZE THEY WERE DIRECTING THEIR REMARKS ONLY TOWARDS MILITARY FACTS AND NOT INTENTIONS, POINT OUT THAT THE WESTERN SIDE DID NOT INTEND TO BE INHIBITED IN ADDRESSING FACTS IN THE FUTURE, AND CRITICIZE THE EAST GERMAN STATEMENT FOR QUOTING GERMAN DEFENSE OFFICIALS OUT OF CONTEXT. HE WOULD NOTE THAT THERE EXISTED MANY PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON THE EASTERN SIDE ASSERTING SUPERIORITY OF WP FORCES OVER NATO, AND CAUTION AGAINST ALLOWING THE CONFERENCE TO SLIP INTO A WAR OF QUOTATIONS. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE FRG SHOULD PRESENT SUCH A DRAFT TO THE AHG, COUCHED IN FACTUAL TERMS, WITH ITS SUBSEQUENT USE IN THE PLENARY TO BE DISCUSSED.

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OMB-01 DRC-01 /164 W

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 682

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INFO USMISSION NATO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 9651

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

8. CHAIRMAN INITIATED DISCUSSION ON A CLOSER AHG ANALYSIS OF THE EAST GERMAN STATEMENT (SEPTTEL). BEHRENDT POINTED OUT THE GDR ASSERTION THAT FRG FORCES "AMOUNT TO MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF THE COMPLEMENT OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE REDUCTION AREA" WAS INCORRECT EVEN IF AIR FORCES WERE INCLUDED. THE GDR ATTEMPTED TO CONSTRUCT A THESIS THAT JUNE 28 MBFR AGREEMENT CONSTITUTED AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT BY THE SIGNATORY GOVERNMENTS THAT A MILITARY BALANCE EXISTED IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THERE WAS ALSO THE CONTENTION THAT THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE HAVING DROPPED THE WORD "BALANCED" FROM MBFR, IT WAS IMPROPER FOR THE ALLIES TO RETURN TO THE MATTER OF EQUAL NUMBERS, I.E., THE COMMON CEILING. US DEP REP AGREED THAT MAIN THRUST OF EAST GERMAN STATEMENT WAS ITS INSISTENCE THAT UNDIMINISHED SECURITY COULD ONLY BE ACHIEVED BY PRESERVATION OF THE MILITARY RELATIONSHIP, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ALL WEAPONS SYSTEMS
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AND SERVICES, HE ALSO NOTED THAT GDR ACCUSATIONS THAT WE HAD FAILED TO RESPOND TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL. THE CHAIRMAN CALLED ATTENTION TO THE INCREASING EASTERN CONCENTRATION ON THE BUNDESWEHR.

9. ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) WONDERED WHETHER ALLIES SHOULDN'T BEGIN SOON TO FOCUS CRITICISM ON THE EASTERN PROPOSAL OF NOV 8 SINCE THEY HAD ALREADY BEGUN THEIR ATTACK ON ELEMENTS OF THE NATO POSITION. HOWEVER, ROSE (UK REP) THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE A TACTICAL MISTAKE SINCE IT WOULD DRAW ALLIES ONTO THE SOVIET GROUND. ONCE ALLIED PROPOSAL WAS ON THE TABLE, ALLIES COULD CRITIQUE THE EASTERN DRAFT BY COMPARING IT TO THE MORE FAVORABLE SOLUTIONS CONTAINED IN OURS. IT WAS THE CONSENSUS OF THE AHG THAT THE ALLIED TACTICS WERE HAVING SOME EFFECT, AND THAT THE METHODICAL APPROACH ALLIES WERE FOLLOWING WAS CORRECT. BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN)

CONSIDERED THAT THE SOVIET PROGRAM OF PRESS LEAKS WAS NOT MEETING WITH SUCCESS.

10. AHG DECIDED TO PUT OFF ITS FINAL READING OF THE US STATEMENT PRESENTING THE ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL UNTIL THE NAC HAD ACTED ON THE PROPOSAL, TO PERMIT REFLECTION OF ANY AMENDMENT BY NAC.

11. CHAIRMAN THEN RAISED QUESTION AS TO WHAT FURTHER LINE OF ACTION SHOULD BE, AND WHAT RHYTHM OF PLENARIES SHOULD BE, PRIOR TO CHRISTMAS BREAK. CHAIRMAN POSED FOLLOWING QUESTIONS FOR GROUP CONSIDERATION. HOW MANY PLENARIES? WHAT SUBJECT MATTER SHOULD BE COVERED? WHAT DIALOGUES TO CONDUCT? CHAIRMAN CAUTIONED THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES ON BEING DRAWN OUT BY SOVIETS DURING BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS ON CONTENT OF A SECOND PHASE AGREEMENT. CONCENTRATION ON THE CONTENT OF A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT WAS REQUIRED AND ONLY AFTERWARD COULD SECOND PHASE PROBLEMS BE ADDRESSED. FRG REP CONCURRED AND ENDORSED THIS TYPE OF REASONING, POINTING OUT KHLESTOV'S EMPHASIS ON REDUCTION OF NATIONAL FORCES AT VERY OUTSET. THE SOVIET REP HAD QUESTIONED HIM CLOSELY ON FIRMNESS OF THE LINK BETWEEN THE TWO PHASES IN THE ALLIED CONCEPT. THIS QUESTION WAS HARD TO AVOID, AND IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR THE ALLIES TO FORMULATE COMMON LINE OF APPROACH WHICH ADDRESSES THE SUBJECT OF HOW THE TWO PHASES ARE JOINED.

12. THE AHG AGREED THAT THE SOVIETS AND THEIR EASTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES WERE SEEKING TO RUSH THE NEGOTIATIONS, OR AT LEAST TO GIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE IMPRESSION OF WANTING EARLY PROGRESS. THE ITALIAN REP REFERRED TO KHLESTOV'S SUGGESTION FOR CONCLUDING THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THREE MONTHS, AND POSED THE QUESTION AS TO WHAT LAY BEHIND THIS STRATEGY. THE NETHERLANDS REP REITERATED HIS CONVICTION THAT USSR WANTED AN EARLY FREEZE ON INDIVIDUAL WEST EUROPEAN FORCES IN ORDER TO CRIPPLE EVOLUTION OF AN EC DEFENSE SYSTEM. THE US DEP REP SAID THAT SOVIET HASTE WAS INTENDED TO FORCE THE ALLIES TO NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL WITH ITS EMPHASIS ON NATIONAL FORCES, AIR AND NUCLEAR. THE NORWEGIAN REP REFERRED TO HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE POLISH DELEGATION WHICH HAD LINKED PROGRESS IN VIENNA TO THE PACE OF CSCE IN GENEVA. BELGIAN AMBASSADOR ADRIAENSSEN THOUGHT PERHAPS THE SOVIETS WANTED TO HASTEN TALKS ALONG IN ORDER TO PREVENT SATELLITE STATES FROM DEVELOPING INDEPENDENT THEMES. HUMES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 12 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETINGS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: mcintyresh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973VIENNA09651
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731168/abqcelno.tel
Line Count: 264
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: mcintyresh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16-Jul-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <23-Aug-2001 by mcintyresh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING PM, NOVEMBER 20
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO NATO
BONN
LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR
Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005